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“An Everlasting Scar”: Civilian Internment on Wartime Kaua‘i

INTRODUCTION: SHIFTING OUR FOCUS

Although there has been considerable research done on the internment of civilians in the United States during the Second World War, such studies have generally focused on the mass internment of ethnic Japanese on the mainland west coast rather than the smaller scale but more quickly developing roundup of civilians in Hawai‘i that immediately followed the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. When internment in Hawai‘i is discussed, the experience is often reduced to a convenient counterpoint designed to emphasize the severity of measures taken on the continent. Unfortunately, this type of approach falsely trivializes the impact of wartime internment in the Hawaiian Islands, a program that led to the incarceration and relocation of nearly 2,400 ethnic Japanese residents.¹ It is important to recognize, for example, that the thirty-four month reign of martial law in Hawai‘i provided federal authorities with extensive control over the territory’s civilian population—Japanese and non-Japanese alike—well in advance of

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The Hawaiian Journal of History, vol. 45 (2011)

President Franklin Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066. Furthermore, while the wholesale roundup of Japanese Americans on the U.S. mainland created bonds of shared experience, the selective internment implemented in Hawai'i only prompted suspicion and fear.

To the extent that Hawai'i's internment experience has received attention, it has primarily been directed at the island of O'ahu, an understandable trend given the island's larger population and higher number of civilian internees during the war. Nevertheless, just as the process and experience of internment on the Hawaiian Islands differed in fundamental respects from that on that on the mainland, so too did internment unfold quite differently on Hawai'i's neighbor islands than it did on O'ahu. This particular study focuses on the Garden Isle of Kaua'i, calling attention to points where the local narrative of internment diverges from that of O'ahu in respect to demographics, military presence, facilities, and community mobilization.

While O'ahu assumed a leading role as a gathering place and transfer point for Hawai'i internees, it actually witnessed lower internment rates than neighbor islands such as Kaua'i as a percentage of its overall population. It should not be surprising for O'ahu to have provided the majority of *total* civilian internees, given that 65 percent of Hawai'i's population resided there at the time the United States entered the war.² However, residents of Kaua'i were actually more likely to have been subject to internment in the weeks that followed the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor than their counterparts on O'ahu, a tendency that was replicated on the other neighbor islands.³ Upon examining government lists drawn up before the transfer of neighbor island internees to Honolulu commenced in February 1942, a clear pattern emerges. Kaua'i residents were more likely than Oahuans to appear on the FBI's preliminary custodial detention lists and more likely to have been interned in the first three months following the Pearl Harbor attack.⁴ One explanation for this difference could be found in the fact that Kaua'i, as well Hawai'i's other neighbor islands, contained a higher percentage of ethnic Japanese (47 percent) and male (58 percent) residents than did O'ahu.⁵ This demographic difference matters a great deal considering that the overwhelming majority of civilian internees in Hawai'i consisted of Japanese and Japanese American men.

However, the extent to which wartime internment debilitated

Kaua'i's Japanese community becomes even more apparent when one takes O'ahu's Caucasian internees into account. Exactly one-third of the 354 civilians arrested on the island of O'ahu through February 6, 1942 consisted of ethnic Germans and Italians.⁶ The interisland imbalance in rates of internment was therefore more pronounced among ethnic Japanese men. Compared to their counterparts on O'ahu, Japanese and Japanese American men on Kaua'i were 72 percent more likely to appear on the FBI custodial detention lists and 47 percent more likely to have been detained during the first three months of martial law in Hawai'i.

The reason for this disparity was not a reflection of the relationship of Kaua'i's Japanese population with the greater island community, but rather a direct result of geographic logistics and bureaucratic decisions made at the federal level. While the Garden Isle's ranks of internees contained numerous Buddhist and Shinto priests, Japanese language schoolteachers, and Kibei (ethnic Japanese born in the United States but educated in Japan), the vast majority of early internees were selected due to their status as *toritsuginin*, or subconsular agents.⁷ This group consisted of male Issei and Kibei community leaders, proficient in Japanese, who assisted local Nisei to complete birth, marriage, and death records, as well as deferments from the Japanese armed forces.⁸ Even though *toritsuginin* were unpaid volunteers, their affiliation with the consulate aroused great suspicion among American authorities.⁹ Since the territory's only Japanese consulate was located in Honolulu, *toritsuginin* were more abundant on Hawai'i's neighbor islands, including Kaua'i. This was the primary cause for Kaua'i's higher internment rates in comparison to O'ahu, since subconsular agents were rounded up en masse on December 7th.

BEFORE AND AFTER DECEMBER 7TH

Civilians played an especially important role in defense preparations on Kaua'i and the other neighbor islands, due to the limited American military presence in comparison with O'ahu. In a detailed study of wartime Hawai'i authorized by the territorial legislature and first published in 1950 as *Hawaii's War Years*, journalist Gwenfreed Allen described defenses on the neighbor islands as "almost nonexistent until the end of April [1941]."¹⁰ Writing in 2004, former KTOH

radio broadcaster Mike Ashman recalled that, as late as June of 1941, Kaua'i residents still considered war a "remote possibility," preferring to busy themselves with concerns of flooding, local weddings, and the new roller-skating craze.¹¹ Even so, Sheriff William Rice had launched the Garden Isle's Provisional Police force in February 1941, and by August the unit was already one thousand men strong, including 290 Filipino nationals and 301 ethnic Japanese.¹² In addition to assisting with the island's defense plans, the purpose of the squad was to deflate ethnic tensions between local Filipino and Japanese residents resulting from Japanese aggression in Southeast Asia, which of course included an invasion of the Philippines just hours after the Pearl Harbor attacks.¹³ Indeed, the major motivation for creating military districts on the neighbor islands in May 1941 was to strengthen relations with the local Japanese community, largely out of fear of potential acts of sabotage.¹⁴ Two months later, Governor Joseph Poindexter established a Territory Defense Council made up of the chief executive officers of each island, for the purposes of coordinating civilian defense and counter-espionage activities on the neighbor islands. Kaua'i formed a local version of the council in August.¹⁵ However, Kaua'i's security situation changed markedly in the fall, following the arrival of 600 American soldiers, who complemented the 80,000 Navy men stationed in Hawaiian waters.¹⁶ Kaua'i thus seemed to be a secure and well-ordered society on the eve of December 7th.

Unlike the more visible military defense measures, preparation for civilian internment unfolded in a cloud of secrecy. The FBI's Honolulu Office began its work on internment as early as 1939, when Special Agent in Charge Robert L. Shivers arrived from the mainland to assume his post. Working under the direction of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, and with local input from the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) and the army's Military Intelligence Division (MID), Shivers and his O'ahu-based agents assembled custodian detention lists containing the names and addresses of civilians deemed to be dangerous in the event that war broke out.¹⁷ By the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor, Shivers's lists contained the names of 347 ethnic Japanese, eighty ethnic Germans, and twenty-nine ethnic Italians, many of whom were American citizens.¹⁸ Although public pronouncements only referred to enemy aliens, Shivers's inclusion of U.S. citizens on these secretive lists addressed the concerns of Hoover, who

supported aggressive measures against what he termed, the "naturalized citizen whose cloak of citizenship is a sham and is dangerous to the nation's security."¹⁹ Hoover was only one of many Washington bureaucrats involved, as evidenced by the War Department's decision to order the commanding general in Hawai'i to prepare for internment as early as March 1941.²⁰ Two months later, Secretary of War Henry Stimson wrote to the surgeon general to request transfer of the Immigration Building on Ala Moana Boulevard and the Quarantine Station on Sand Island in the event that the "Army authorities are directed to take over internment of enemy aliens."²¹ Yet, despite directives issued at the federal level, internment facilities in the Territory of Hawai'i were woefully inadequate, especially on the neighbor islands.

The lives of Kaua'i residents, and the Japanese community in particular, changed in an instant with the bombing of Pearl Harbor. By breakfast time, Kaua'i's KTOH radio was broadcasting news of the early morning attack and the island's civilian defense program was placed on alert by noon.²² Hawai'i's governor, Joseph Poindexter, placed Hawai'i under martial law at 4:25 p.m., transferring power to General Walter C. Short, amidst fears of a second impending Japanese invasion the following day.²³ On Kaua'i, *The Garden Island* editor Charlie Fern became the civilian defense coordinator while Lt. Col. Eugene Fitzgerald assumed the dual posts of commanding officer and provost marshal.²⁴ For the next three years, Fitzgerald ruled over local residents through a series of "district regulations" and "general orders," beginning with commands issued over KTOH radio to shut down Japanese language schools, temples, publications, and film screenings.²⁵

Civilian internment in Hawai'i was carried out with astonishing speed, and the process on Kaua'i lagged only slightly behind O'ahu, despite a shortage of FBI and military personnel. Just hours after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the War Department ordered the immediate internment of all 456 people on the FBI's custodial detention lists.²⁶ Within three hours of the declaration of martial law, thirteen squads of FBI agents on O'ahu had arrested more than 200 members of the Japanese community, working as J. Edgar Hoover described it, "with the greatest dispatch according to pre-arranged plans."²⁷ An additional 106 ethnic Germans and Italians were arrested the fol-

lowing day.²⁸ Although Hoover publicly referred to this action as the FBI's "Alien Enemy Program," he knew full well that those civilians detained in the first two days after Pearl Harbor included forty-three American citizens of Japanese, German, and Italian ancestry.²⁹ The process was not quite as efficient on Kaua'i, where the initial apprehension of forty-one civilians on the custodial detention lists was the responsibility of the island's two FBI agents. For these reasons, local police officers—including at least one Japanese American—lent support, but the process still took a couple of days.³⁰

LIFE AS AN INTERNEE ON KAUA'I

The island of Kaua'i, with a total population just over 30,000, completely lacked the facilities to accommodate the sudden influx of forty-one detainees. Although the FBI and military authorities had planned assiduously for the *apprehension* of "dangerous" civilians, they had not taken any measures to prepare for the actual *detainment* of these island residents. As a result, some internees were temporarily stashed in the Waimea and Koloa police stations while FBI agents and local authorities worked through the night trying to locate and apprehend every person on the custodial detention lists.³¹ One internee recalls two FBI agents and a local police detective paying a house call at five o'clock in the morning on December 8 to escort him to the police station in Waimea.³² Paul Shizuo Muraoka was reportedly locked up in the shower room of the Lihu'e Plantation gym for an entire month before being united with his fellow internees.³³ However, the majority of detainees were rapidly concentrated in the Kaua'i County Jail in Wailua, where they initially shared facilities with common criminals.³⁴

By all accounts, the conditions internees faced upon arrival at the County Jail—which served as the primary internment site on Kaua'i through February 1942—were appalling. Records suggest that the number of internees crowded into the meager facility eventually climbed to more than seventy as authorities continued to detain and interrogate local residents in the weeks that followed the initial roundup.³⁵ Upon arrival, internees' baggage was searched and Japanese-English dictionaries were discarded, no small issue for those first-generation immigrants who still struggled with English.³⁶ Breakfast

consisted of nothing but black coffee and a hard cracker.³⁷ As there were no toilets available, dozens of grown men were forced to share a single gallon can for urination and defecation. Internee Kaetsu Furuya recalled sleeping on an iron bed—sans mattress—behind iron bars, while mosquitoes thrived in the moist, unsanitary conditions.³⁸



Naitoh family portrait circa 1940. Koloa Hongwanji priest Kyosei Naitoh was interned immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor. His wife, Nade, and daughter, Gladys (b. 1937), would later follow him to the Jerome War Relocation Center in Arkansas. Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i / Rev. Kyojo Naitoh Family Collection.

Local doctor Samuel Wallis, who visited the jail on Tuesday, December 9, deemed the internees' situation dire enough to submit a formal complaint to Provost Marshal Fitzgerald. The obvious overcrowding and sanitation concerns were exacerbated by the fact that many of the internees were elderly men who required special medical attention.³⁹

Fortunately, Kaua'i's internees received an outpouring of support from local residents, resulting in a rapid and drastic improvement in their conditions. Christian community leaders, concerned about interned church members, visited the county jail on December 9, and, coupled with the efforts of Dr. Wallis, pressed for immediate action.⁴⁰ In a 1982 interview, Kaetsu Furuya expressed particular appreciation for the intervention of a local reverend named Worthington, who, in addition to ministering to the internees, served as an intermediary between them and the military guards.⁴¹ An announcement in the local newspaper the same day invited internees' family members to visit the jail and drop off toiletries, clean laundry, and Japanese food items.⁴² By Wednesday, December 10, Provost Marshal Fitzgerald and Civilian Defense Coordinator Fern established the position of a civilian morale officer, assigning Father Maurice Coopman the task of improving the internees' housing, health, feeding, and recreation.⁴³ Dr. Wallace Kawaoka volunteered his services as medical officer, visiting the Wailua jail daily—sometimes twice a day—to care for the prisoners. Two local nurses and a dietician offered their assistance, organizing meals, improving living conditions, and designing activities for the internees.⁴⁴

Working together with his volunteer staff, the morale officer endeavored to make an unpleasant situation as tolerable as possible. The prison's iron gates and doors were opened, allowing the men to freely move upstairs and outside into the courtyard. They were also permitted to keep certain personal effects, such as books, money, and knives, which they used for woodcarvings.⁴⁵ On Friday a local newspaper reported that the internees had started to construct bunk beds—augmented with mattresses—so that they would no longer have to sleep on the floor.⁴⁶ On Sunday, December 14, one full week after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the internees of Kaua'i were permitted to hold a religious service in the Wailua jail, with the stipulation that it not include any Shinto rituals. Reverend Hiseki Miyasaki thanked the guards and volunteers on behalf of his fellow internees, claiming that

the group had been "touched by the American spirit of magnanimity shown by the authorities." Commenting on the improved sleeping situation and the admission of visitors earlier that afternoon, Miyasaki stated that the internees' "hell has changed into a paradise."⁴⁷ In the speech, which was published in letter form—in both English and Japanese—in the December 18 edition of *The Garden Island*, Miyasaki assured Kaua'i's residents that the detainees had been "treated well," pointing out that "the concrete results of this can be seen on the faces of [their] relatives who visit [them] daily."⁴⁸

With encouragement and assistance from community leaders, the Kaua'i internees endeavored to maintain their sense of human dignity during a dehumanizing process. They availed themselves of a wide range of tasks and recreational activities to help pass the time, including cleaning, carpentry, bolt making, typing, woodcarving, weaving, and knitting. The Lihu'e Library supplied the jail with books and games, and the detainees played cards, *shogi* [Japanese chess], bowls, volleyball, and baseball. One language-proficient internee led a daily English class at 8:00 a.m. while others tended a community garden. The internees also organized their own democratic system of rule, holding elections to assign important roles, such as dorm leader, cleanup leader, water luna, tool guardian, carpentry supervisor, and garden superintendent.⁴⁹

As soon as the health, sanitation, and recreation concerns had been addressed, authorities and volunteers set out to expand and improve the accommodations at the county jail. With the help of the internees themselves, the Kaua'i County engineers built two dormitories with twelve sets of bunk beds each, capable of housing forty-eight people in total. They also constructed a kitchen, toilets, and a bathhouse complete with hot water.⁵⁰ Since the majority of internees were heads-of-household who had been forced to leave dependents behind, the Department of Public Welfare, Red Cross, American Friends Service Committee, and local churches all provided much-needed assistance to family members.⁵¹ Their situation having improved appreciably, the English teacher penned a letter to Eugene Fitzgerald in late January, signed by every internee in Wailua, extending Kaua'i's military commander their "sincere gratitude for the kind and generous treatment," they had received, adding they were being "treated as gentlemen and not as prisoners."⁵² While skeptical readers might dismiss

this as a strategic gesture of flattery, it seems clear that Kauaʻi's internees succeeded in making the best of a difficult situation.

Although Hawaiʻi internees were entitled to a hearing to determine the necessity of their continued detainment, the constraints of martial law reduced these deliberations to a mere charade of justice. Hearings in Hawaiʻi differed in fundamental respects from those conducted on the mainland, with military personnel playing a more prominent role in the territory. While each island had its own review board, in Hawaiʻi two army officers accompanied the three standard civilian members who formed hearing boards on the mainland.⁵³ In the case of Kauaʻi, civilian board members included the managers of the Kekaha, Koloa, and Lihūʻe plantations.⁵⁴ More significantly, internees in Hawaiʻi—unlike those on the mainland—went through a two-stage process, with the preliminary hearing board composed of members of the FBI, ONI, and MID, the very same organizations that had assembled the custodial detention lists in the first place.⁵⁵ Although the agreement hammered out by the Justice and War Departments stipulated that internees in martial law Hawaiʻi be entitled to legal counsel for these first-stage hearings, evidence indicates that few people received such representation, and expenses were not covered.⁵⁶ Instead, Hawaiʻi internees have depicted the first stage of their hearings as interrogation sessions, in which military officers “put their guns on the table in plain view, like a threat.”⁵⁷ One interned American citizen of Scandinavian heritage later testified that he was pressured at gunpoint to sign a false declaration stating he was a German enemy alien.⁵⁸ Finally, in exchange for their freedom, paroled internees in Hawaiʻi were forced to sign statements releasing the United States government from any potential liability.⁵⁹

THE MILITARIZATION OF KAUAʻI

While time stood still for the internees locked up inside of the Kauaʻi County Jail, the Garden Isle was undergoing a rapid process of militarization. The shelling of Nāwiliwili Harbor by a Japanese submarine in late December—on the same night that Hilo and Kahului came under attack—underscored the urgency of defense preparations.⁶⁰ The transformation of Kauaʻi was hardly limited to the arrival of additional soldiers from the mainland, but was a much more encompass-

ing makeover that entailed the imposition of martial law and the seizure of land and facilities. The military command in Honolulu ruled the entire territory through a series of general orders and directives, imposing a curfew and blackout on all residents immediately after the attack, in addition to closing schools, rationing gasoline, censoring mail and telephone calls, and suspending the activities of the civil courts.⁶¹ In March 1942 all residents of Kauaʻi were subject to fingerprinting and registration and were thereafter fined for failure to carry identification cards.⁶² The military took control of Nāwiliwili Harbor, the McBryde Plantation manager's home in Kalāheo, and the William Hyde Rice home in Līhuʻe, while sites across the island were commandeered for either training or recreational purposes.⁶³ The Office of Civilian Defense also renovated the island's infrastructure to meet the needs of a war zone, commissioning the construction of four hospitals, ten evacuation camps, and twelve first-aid stations.⁶⁴



A Kauai'i family braces for possible gas attacks, circa 1942. Hawaii War Records Depository, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i Mānoa.

The mobilization of civilians for the American war effort was arguably the area that had the most substantial impact on local society. Lt. Col. Fitzgerald issued his own general orders for the island of Kauaʻi, which included a decree that every “man is expected to give four hours of time to his country each day if he is gainfully employed.”⁶⁵ Kauaʻi schoolboys over the age of sixteen were excused from classes for the entire winter of 1942–1943 so that they could string barbed wire on the island’s beaches.⁶⁶ The Provisional Police units initially established before the U.S. entry into the war were transformed and expanded into the Organized Defense Volunteers (ODV) in the first three months of 1942, with the notable stipulation that ethnic Japanese residents be barred from participation regardless of their citizenship status. The Kauaʻi branch of this organization—the Kauaʻi Volunteers—numbered 2,400 men, 90 percent of whom were Filipinos, at a time when the island’s total male Filipino population hovered around 5,700.⁶⁷ Unique to Hawaiʻi, Organized Defense Volunteers functioned as “last-ditch soldiers,” drilling every Sunday morning under full-time military personnel and assisting with a variety of tasks that included guard duty, traffic control, scouting, and house searches. Members even took an oath in which they agreed to be inducted into the regular army upon order of the commanding general. On Kauaʻi and the other neighbor islands, teams of horseback “Mounties”—skilled horsemen—augmented the regular ODV infantry, patrolling the remote hills and ravines of the islands’ ranch country.⁶⁸ Although Kauaʻi’s ODV units excluded people of Japanese descent, the less official Kiawe Corps provided opportunities for volunteers to demonstrate their commitment to the war effort, with many Japanese nationals laboring three Sundays a month for two years, clearing brush, stringing barbed wire, and helping construct the island’s evacuation centers.⁶⁹

The formation of WARD (Women’s Air Raid Defense) groups on each of Hawaiʻi’s islands provided local women with an opportunity to contribute to the war effort. Members worked around-the-clock in six-hour shifts, helping radar men monitor air traffic.⁷⁰ Flora Rice, wife of judge Philip Rice, was responsible for organizing the WARD groups on the island of Kauaʻi, and she typically targeted the top female high school students for membership. These young women underwent military training before moving into cottages on the Rice fam-



Kaua'i WARD member Harriet Lum prepares for basic training and a new adventure with the Women's Army Corps, November 1944. Hawai'i War Records Depository, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i Mānoa.

ily's Līhu'e estate.⁷¹ Mary Samson Hendrickson, a Kapa'a resident of Filipino ancestry, was only fifteen years of age when she left school to join the WARD, along with classmates Harriet Lum and Kee Soo Kim. Despite receiving a substantial salary of 120 dollars per month, Hendrickson later recalled being motivated by an overwhelming sense of patriotism, which she attributed to her public school education: "If [the schools] taught nothing else, it was loyalty to one's country and never questioning the federal government."⁷² However, at this early point in the war, the allegiance of ethnic Japanese residents was an

object of skepticism, and Japanese American women were not invited to participate in the WARD groups.⁷³

LEAVING HOME

For Kaua'i's internees, transfer to O'ahu and beyond constituted a second tribulation, perhaps even more painful than their initial arrest and detainment. The majority of the island's internees were relocated from Kaua'i to O'ahu, and, on many occasions, onward to camps on the mainland. After three months in confinement, forty-five interned Kaua'i Issei and Nisei were shipped off to O'ahu in early March, with further transports to follow. Former internee Kaetsu Furuya recalled his painful memories of that moment of separation in a 1982 interview:

At the time of departure, it was impossible to leave without pain and tears. . . . All of the people who came to see us off, including my wife, had to watch us leave from a distance. All we could do was look at each other face to face, tears in our eyes.⁷⁴

For Kaua'i's detainees, departure from the Garden Isle meant indefinite separation from their families and loved ones as well as the disturbing realization that they could be interned for the remainder of the war.

The tearful farewells served as a premonition of the hardships that would follow, as seen in Furuya's testimony, which portrays the transfer to O'ahu as a humiliating and sometimes dangerous process. He emphasized the maltreatment he experienced at the hands of Sand Island Camp guards, who made the detainees "stand in the rain, practically naked, in [their] undershirts and underpants." According to Furuya, these actions caused the death of Kaua'i resident Kokubo Takara on Sand Island, making him Hawai'i's first internee casualty.⁷⁵ Before departing Sand Island for the mainland, Furuya and his fellow internees were subject to an invasive physical examination:

We had to be stark naked and then . . . we had to lie down naked on the bed and then we had our nose, mouth, hands, feet of course, anus, genitals, everything was examined carefully and we had numbers written on our bodies. In red ink. Mine was "13." Actually, I hate the number thirteen.⁷⁶

The trans-Pacific voyage was hardly a pleasure cruise either, as military guards crowded between seven and ten internees into a single tiny cabin, before locking the doors to create a makeshift jail cell. Bathroom visits were only allowed once every three hours, accompanied by a military escort.⁷⁷ According to Japanese Issei internee and newspaper editor Yasutaro Soga, no fewer than sixty-five Kaua'i residents were eventually forced to endure this passage to the mainland, not including the wives and children of internees who often followed later as "evacuees."⁷⁸

The remainder of Kaua'i's internees soon found themselves incarcerated at the Kalāheo Stockade. While far away from the Wailua jail and Kaua'i's more populated eastern coast, the Kalāheo area was a practical choice for an internment site given that the military command had established its headquarters at the nearby McBryde Plantation, opened a USO in town, and converted the Kalāheo School into a hospital.⁷⁹ In fact, in addition to housing at least ten civilian internees, the Kalāheo Stockade contained separate quarters for the detention of about fifty disorderly U.S. soldiers.⁸⁰ Facilities were constructed to



Kaua'i internees at the Jerome War Relocation Center in Arkansas, circa 1944. Pictured here (from left to right) are Japanese language school teacher Hisashi Fujimoto, his son, Gilbert Fujimoto, insurance agent Paul Shizuo Muraoka, Yukie Fujimoto, and Reverend Kyosei Naitoh. Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i/Rev. Kyojo Naitoh Family Collection.

hold between twenty and twenty-five internees, complete with a mess hall, latrines, and showers.⁸¹ The majority of Kalāheo internees were American citizens—probably Kibei—whose names had not turned up on the FBI's original custodial detention lists and who had thus avoided the initial sweep of arrests.

Both the International Red Cross and the Swedish vice consul inspected the camp, providing a decidedly positive assessment of the conditions they encountered. International Red Cross officials, who found nine civilian internees during their September 1942 visit, described the “remote” camp as having “excellent” sanitation facilities as well as an “excellent” climate. After noting the presence of a large athletic field and the availability of books, magazines, and radio access, the author of the Red Cross report concluded that the “internees look good, and considering the circumstances, feel happy and satisfied,” adding that they were “unanimous in praising the good treatment they received from the camp commander.”⁸² The Swedish vice consul, Gustaf Olson, who was assisting Hawai‘i’s Japanese citizens with their diplomatic, legal, and employment affairs following the closure of Honolulu’s Japanese consulate, inspected the Kalāheo Stockade internment facilities twice in 1943, noting considerable improvements by the time of his second visit. According to Olson, by late September electric lights had been installed, sanitary facilities improved, and land prepared for a vegetable garden. More importantly, the vice consul documented only a single remaining internee, who “said his treatment had been good and . . . had no complaint to make.”⁸³ The memories of former internee and photographer William Senda confirm this impression. In a 1982 interview, he claimed that the guards “fed [the internees] well enough and did not mistreat [them],” although Senda lamented spending “day after day in idleness.”⁸⁴ All evidence seems to suggest that the internees of Kaua‘i fared much better than those shipped off to O‘ahu.

CONCLUSION

Internment also proved financially debilitating for the families of internees, at the precise moment when Kaua‘i was experiencing an economic boom. The militarization of Hawai‘i was actually a quite profitable turn of events for many Garden Isle residents, despite the

obvious inconveniences it brought the local population. Business opportunities were abundant, as evidenced by the growth of the number of Kapa'a restaurants from four to twenty-three in just a three-year period. With teams of hungry soldiers eager to part with their earnings, Kaua'i locals even opened eateries in yards and private homes. Hot dog vendors netted a hundred dollars a day while more substantial drive-ins were forced to turn customers away.⁸⁵ Of course, for Kaua'i's Japanese community this economic prosperity came at the expense of cultural suppression, including the closure of Japanese newspapers, schools, shrines, and temples, as well as self-imposed changes in dress and language usage.⁸⁶ However, the state of affairs faced by internee families deprived of a head-of-household and breadwinner was far more challenging. Bank accounts were frozen, forcing dependents to sell off family belongings.⁸⁷ Japanese language school principal Kaetsu Furuya, for example, confessed to facing severe "financial problems" due to the closure of his school while he was interned. He wound up accepting a job as a "yardboy at Punahou School" after the war in order to make ends meet.⁸⁸

To make matters worse, the experience of internment stigmatized detainees and their family members, depriving them of an emotional support group when they needed it most. The Department of Public Welfare attempted to address the economic strain placed on internees' dependents, but such assistance could not erase the sense of alienation these people faced.⁸⁹ Once-prominent families lost their social standing in an instant, as frightened neighbors consciously shunned them so as not to appear suspicious themselves.⁹⁰ Jukichi Inouye's wife remembered her neighbors on Kaua'i being "afraid to talk to [her]" during her husband's internment, since "they thought anything could happen to them."⁹¹ In a similar vein, Kaetsu Furuya recalled that, "people would keep away from us internees for fear that they themselves would be interned."⁹² In addition to the hardships he endured in captivity, Kaua'i internee Henry Tanaka remembered the pain he experienced after his release, when he paid a visit to his long-time Caucasian benefactress, who had become critically ill:

I went to her home with a bouquet of flowers but she refused to see me, sending word that she was extremely disappointed in me because I had been disloyal to my country. This was one of the saddest moments of my

life. Shortly thereafter, she passed away. . . . This has left an everlasting scar in my heart.⁹³

In reality, Tanaka was an American citizen who had been interned for two-and-a-half years without having been charged—let alone convicted—of a crime.⁹⁴ Living under martial law, in a climate of fear and suspicion, internees and their family members sadly found themselves *personas non grata*, both among the military authorities and the local community.

Despite the tendency to focus on the story of wartime internment as it unfolded in California and, to a lesser extent, on O‘ahu, the Hawai‘i’s neighbor islands did not elude the reach of the FBI’s custodial detention program. Internees and their families had to surmount countless obstacles and calamities, ranging from physical separation to financial hardship to social ostracization. The dozens of Kaua‘i residents who were arrested and detained without the due process of law quickly found their sense of justice and faith in the American legal system put to the severest of tests. They had to overcome the dehumanizing nature of the internment camp system—especially on O‘ahu and the American mainland—and develop strategies to combat the constant idleness and boredom of daily camp life. Despite all of these challenges, evidence suggests that the internees of Kaua‘i made the best of their situation, an endeavor made easier by the efforts of many willing local allies.

NOTES

* I would like to thank the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai‘i and the Hawai‘i War Records Depository at the University of Hawai‘i–Mānoa for providing me access to their archival collections.

¹ This figure is taken from Tetsuden Kashima’s “Introduction” to Yasutaro Soga, *Life Behind Barbed Wire: The World War II Internment Memoirs of a Hawai‘i Issei* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008), 10. This figure includes spouses and children who were “evacuated” to mainland camps so that their families could be reunited.

² See Army Contact Office, “Japanese Population in Hawaiian Islands, 1942,” compiled by the Office of Civilian Defense (hereafter OCD) from January to April 1942, Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai‘i (hereafter cited as JCCH) Hawai‘i Internment Collection.

- ³ R.L. Shivers, "Letter to Director of Federal Bureau of Investigation" and accompanying lists, 4 December 1941, Freedom of Information and Privacy Acts (hereafter cited as FOIPA) File 100-2-200. This file was provided by Doris Berg Nye, whose parents and older sister were interned in Hawai'i. Shivers includes forty-one Kaua'i residents and 268 O'ahu residents on his list, all of whom would be apprehended in the days immediately following the attack on Pearl Harbor. The 268 O'ahu residents include 109 people of German and Italian ancestry. See also R.L. Shivers, "Letter to Director of Federal Bureau of Investigation" and accompanying lists, 6 February 1942, FOIPA File 100-2-200. Shivers reports the arrest of fifty-two civilians on Kaua'i and 354 arrests on O'ahu, including 118 ethnic Germans and Italians. For more information on internment in Hawai'i, see especially Tetsuden Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial: Japanese American Internment during World War II* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004), 67-87.
- ⁴ See Shivers, "Letter to FBI Director," 4 December 1941; and Shivers, "Letter to FBI Director," 6 February 1942. According to the OCD population figures referenced above, there were 30,703 people residing on Kaua'i and 268,927 on O'ahu. Taking these sets of data together, the ratio of Kaua'i residents on the FBI's custodial detention list compared to the island's total population was 1:749 while the ratio on O'ahu was 1:1,003. Similarly, measuring the fifty-two internees listed on the February 1942 report against the island's total population produces a ratio of 1:590 for Kaua'i, compared to 1:760 for O'ahu.
- ⁵ For an ethnic breakdown of Hawai'i's wartime population, see "Japanese Population."
- ⁶ R.L. Shivers, "Letter to FBI Director" and accompanying lists, 6 February 1942.
- ⁷ See Shivers, "Letter to FBI Director," 4 December 1941.
- ⁸ For more on the interrogations of Kibei on the island of Maui in October 1942, see Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial*, 81-84.
- ⁹ Commission on Wartime Internment and Relocation of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 278.
- ¹⁰ Gwenfread Allen, *Hawaii's War Years, 1941-1945* (Kailua: Pacific Monograph, 1999) 99.
- ¹¹ Mike Ashman, *Kaua'i As It Was in the 1940s and '50s* (Lihu'e: Kaua'i Historical Society, 2004), 224.
- ¹² Chairman William Ellis, "County of Kaua'i in World War II," Report to Governor Ingram Stainback, 30 June 1944, Hawai'i War Records Depository, Archives & Manuscripts Department, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (hereafter cited as HWRD), folder 37. For more on the activities of Provisional Police on the Hawaiian Islands, see Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 36, 79-80, 91-92, 382.
- ¹³ For more on the formation of Kaua'i's Provisional Police, see Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 92, 382. For observations on Filipino-Japanese tensions on Kaua'i, see Ashman, *Kaua'i As It Was*, 219-220.
- ¹⁴ Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 100.

- ¹⁵ Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 92.
- ¹⁶ Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 100, 120–121.
- ¹⁷ Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial*, 68. See also, Federal Bureau of Investigation Honolulu Homepage, “The Honolulu Division: A Brief History,” <<http://honolulu.fbi.gov/history.htm>> (21 May 2010). For more on J. Edgar Hoover’s involvement in civilian internment in Hawai‘i, see J. Edgar Hoover, “Alien Enemy Control,” *Iowa Law Review* 29 (1943–1944): 396–408.
- ¹⁸ Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial*, 72.
- ¹⁹ Hoover, “Alien Enemy Control,” 407.
- ²⁰ Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial*, 68.
- ²¹ See Henry L. Stimson, “Letter to Thomas Parran,” 9 May 1941: National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter cited as NARA) Record Group 407.
- ²² Mike Ashman, “Remembering Pearl Harbor on Kaua‘i,” JCCH Hawai‘i Internment Collection.
- ²³ Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial*, 69. For further timings of the martial law declaration, see Dorothy Ochiai Hazama and Jane Okamoto Komeji, *Okage Sama De: The Japanese in Hawai‘i, 1885–1985* (Honolulu: Bess Press, 1986), 123; and Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: a History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawai‘i, 1968), 344.
- ²⁴ Ashman, *Kaua‘i As It Was*, 239. See also, Ashman, “Remembering Pearl Harbor.”
- ²⁵ *Ibid.* See also Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 188–189.
- ²⁶ Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial*, 69. See also, Kaua‘i Morale Officer, “American Experiment,” 1942, HWRD Japanese Internment and Relocation: The Hawai‘i Experience, no. 173. The author’s name cannot be confirmed since it is missing from the report. However, the most likely candidate is Father Maurice Coopman, who served as chairman of the Public Morale Committee. Noboru Miyake was also a member of the committee and therefore must be considered as a possible author of the report. I have chosen to list Coopman as the author in subsequent endnotes.
- ²⁷ Hoover, “Alien Enemy Control,” 402.
- ²⁸ For a complete list of the ethnic Germans and Italians detained in Hawai‘i through the first three months of martial law, see Shivers, “Letter to FBI Director,” 6 February 1942. See also Hazama and Komeji, *Okage Sama De*, 123–125; Commission, *Personal Justice Denied*, 263–264; and Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial*, 69–73.
- ²⁹ By December 9, authorities in Hawai‘i had apprehended 473 civilians, including twenty-two Japanese Nisei, nineteen German Americans, and two Italian Americans. The remaining internees were foreign nationals. See Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial*, 69. For an example of Hoover’s refusal to mention the arrests of U.S. citizens, see Hoover, “Alien Enemy Control.”
- ³⁰ Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial*, 71; See also Hoover, “Alien Enemy Control,” 402; Coopman, “American Experiment”; and Jeffrey F. Burton and Mary M. Farrell, “World War II Japanese American Internment in Hawai‘i” (Tucson: Trans-Sierran Archaeological Research, 2007), 5. Kaetsu Furuya, interview by Japanese-American Resource Center, tape recording, Honolulu, HI, 11 Novem-

ber 1982, HWRD Japanese Internment and Relocation: The Hawai'i Experience, no. 233.

³¹ See Furuya, "Interview"; and Jukichi Inouye, interview by Japanese-American Resource Center, tape recording, 'Ele'ele, HI, 12 November 1982, HWRD Japanese Internment and Relocation: The Hawai'i Experience, no. 236.

³² Inouye, "Interview," 4.

³³ See Patsy Sumie Saiki, *Ganbare! An Example of Japanese Spirit* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2004), 73.

³⁴ See Coopman, "American Experiment"; and Inouye interview 4.

³⁵ It appears that the peak internee population in the Wailua jail ranged from sixty-nine to seventy-five. See Burton and Farrell, "World War II," 20–22; Coopman, "American Experiment"; and "Appendix 2: Internees Sent to the Mainland by Island," in Soga, *Barbed Wire*, 226. See also Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial*, 85.

³⁶ Inouye, "Interview," 6.

³⁷ Furuya, "Interview," 2.

³⁸ Furuya, "Interview," 1–2.

³⁹ Coopman, "American Experiment."

⁴⁰ Coopman, "American Experiment."

⁴¹ Furuya, "Interview," 2.

⁴² Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 145; See also Coopman, "American Experiment."

⁴³ Although the civilian morale officer is not identified by name in "American Experiment," Father Maurice Coopman is listed as the chairman of the Public Morale Committee in other documentation. See especially, Territorial Conference of Social Workers, "New Community Responsibilities During War Time: Reports from the Islands of Hawai'i, Maui, Moloka'i, and Kaua'i," Honolulu, Hawai'i, April 1942, HWRD Uncataloged Subject Files Series.

⁴⁴ Coopman, "American Experiment."

⁴⁵ Coopman, "American Experiment."

⁴⁶ Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 145.

⁴⁷ Coopman, "American Experiment."

⁴⁸ Reverend Hiseki Miyasaki, "Letter," *The Garden Island*, 18 December 1941, HWRD. For a reference to this letter, see Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 146.

⁴⁹ Coopman, "American Experiment."

⁵⁰ Coopman, "American Experiment." See also Burton and Farrell, "World War II," 22.

⁵¹ See Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 145, 148; "American Experiment"; and Furuya, "Interview," 10.

⁵² Coopman, "American Experiment."

⁵³ Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial*, 73–74. For the military leadership's description of the hearing boards in Hawai'i, see Territory of Hawaii, Office of the Military Governor, "Control of Civilian Internees and Prisoners of War in the Central Pacific Area," undated (ca. 1943), NARA Record Group 338.

⁵⁴ Furuya, "Interview," 4.

⁵⁵ Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial*, 68–69, 73–74.

- ⁵⁶ Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial*, 73. Individual hearing board transcripts can be found in the National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 389, Entry 461.
- ⁵⁷ Kwantoku Goya, as quoted in Commission, *Personal Justice Denied*, 279; For a similar example, see Doris Berg Nye, interview by JCCH, 4 March, 2009 59.
- ⁵⁸ Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 146.
- ⁵⁹ Commission, *Personal Justice Denied*, 278.
- ⁶⁰ For more on submarine attacks on Nāwiliwili, see Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 68–69; and Ashman, *Kaua'i As It Was*, 259.
- ⁶¹ Commission, *Personal Justice Denied*, 266–267. See also Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 188–189; and Hazama and Komeji, *Okage Sama De*, 144.
- ⁶² Commission, *Personal Justice Denied*, 267.
- ⁶³ Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 246.
- ⁶⁴ Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 123, 134, 226.
- ⁶⁵ Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 189.
- ⁶⁶ Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 396.
- ⁶⁷ Army Contact Office, “Population Totals by Race and Sex, 1942.” For more on the formation, composition, and activities of the Organized Defense Volunteers, see Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 112–113, 382; and Ellis, “County of Kaua'i.”
- ⁶⁸ Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 112–113.
- ⁶⁹ Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 108.
- ⁷⁰ For more on the WARD, see interview with former WARD member Mary Samson Hendrickson in Center for Oral History, *An Era of Change: Oral Histories of Civilians in World War II in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Social Science Research Institute, 1994), 193–245; and Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 106–107.
- ⁷¹ Hendrickson, “Interview,” 217–218.
- ⁷² Hendrickson, “Interview,” 208.
- ⁷³ Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 106–107; see also Hendrickson, “Interview,” 208.
- ⁷⁴ Furuya, “Interview,” 9.
- ⁷⁵ Furuya, “Interview,” 2–3.
- ⁷⁶ Furuya, “Interview,” 3.
- ⁷⁷ Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial*, 79.
- ⁷⁸ For figures on the transfer of Kaua'i internees to O'ahu and the mainland United States, see “Appendix 2: Internees Sent to the Mainland by Island,” in Soga, *Life Behind Barbed Wire*, 226; and Burton and Farrell, “World War II,” 22.
- ⁷⁹ Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 226, 246, and 277.
- ⁸⁰ For more on the quarters for American soldiers, see Lester Chang, “Seeking Clues of Internment: Search for Kalaheo Camp Elusive,” *The Garden Island*, 11 February 2006 <http://thegardenisland.com/news/article_ea3696a7-a2b2-55f4-b69a-60ec6667df38.html> (26 May 2010). For a detailed analysis of the possible locations of the Kalaheo Stockade, see Burton and Farrell, “World War II,” 21–36. For more on the Kalaheo internees, see War Department, Office of the Provost Marshal General, Washington, D.C., “Roster of American Citizens of Japanese Descent in Custody in Territory of Hawaii as of 1 September 1942”

(October 1, 1942) NARA; The Freedom of Information Times, <http://foitimes.com/internment/Hawaii.pdf> (accessed 9 August 2011); Saiki, *Ganbare*, 72–76; and Furuya, "Interview."

⁸¹ See Burton and Farrell, "World War II," 23; and Saiki, *Ganbare*, 75.

⁸² See Sociétés de la Croix Rouge, "Detention Camp Kaléo, Kauai, Hawaii" in *Revue Internationale de la Croix-Rouge et Bulletin International des Sociétés de la Croix-Rouge* 25, no. 291 (March 1943) 213.

⁸³ Swedish vice consul Gustaf W. Olson, "Letter to Colonel Erik Laval, Delegation of Sweden," 23 September 1943, HWRD Japanese Internment and Relocation: The Hawai'i Experience, no. 173. For more on the role of the Swedish vice consul in Hawai'i, see Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 148.

⁸⁴ William J. Senda, interview by Ben Asakawa, 1982, *Kaua'i Times*, JCCH Hawai'i Internment Collection.

⁸⁵ Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 319.

⁸⁶ Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 383–385; and Hazama and Komeji, *Okage Samade*, 144.

⁸⁷ Hazama and Komeji, *Okage Samade*, 137.

⁸⁸ Furuya, "Interview," 7.

⁸⁹ For more on Department of Public Welfare Assistance, see Territorial Conference, "New Community Responsibilities," 26, HWRD Box 64.

⁹⁰ Commission, *Personal Justice Denied*, 280.

⁹¹ Inouye, "Interview," 5.

⁹² Furuya, "Interview," 10.

⁹³ Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial*, 85.

⁹⁴ Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial*, 85.

